DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 459 602 FL 026 985

AUTHOR	Lo Bianco, Joseph
TITLE	After the Tsunami, Some Dilemmas: Japanese Language Studies in Multicultural Australia. Language Australia Research Policy and Practice Papers.
INSTITUTION	Language Australia, Melbourne (Victoria).
ISBN	ISBN-1-876768-19-3
PUB DATE	2000-00-00
NOTE	31p.; Cover reads, "International Symposium on Japanese Language Studies and Japanese Language Education, Nagoya University of Foreign Studies, June 1999."
AVAILABLE FROM	Publications and Clearinghouse Manager, Language Australia Ltd., GPO Box 372F, Melbourne, VIC 3001. Tel: (03) 9926-4779; Fax: (03) 9926-4780; Web site: http://sunsite.anu.edu.au/language-australia.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Evaluative (142) -- Speeches/Meeting Papers (150)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Australian Aboriginal Languages; *Cultural Pluralism; Elementary Secondary Education; Foreign Countries; Immigrants; *Japanese; *Language Attitudes; Language Maintenance; Language Role; *Multilingualism; *National Programs; Second Language Instruction; Second Language Learning
IDENTIFIERS	*Australia

ABSTRACT

This paper describes responses to linguistic pluralism in Australian policy in relation to Australia's Asian language context, and the teaching and learning of Japanese within these two frameworks. Finally, the paper considers some ideas relating intercultural language learning to all second language study termed: the Third Place. There are three approaches typically taken toward multilingualism in a given society, looking at multilingualism as a problem, a right, or a resource. Australia viewed multilingualism as a problem through the middle of the 1970s. This eventually led to a contestation of that approach, which culminated in the language as a right movement, which gained considerable ground in the later 1970s and through the 1980s. By the 1990s, the language a resource school began to gain influence. Regarding multilingualism as a resource involves construing the diversity of languages within the community as a public as well as an individual benefit and fashioning public policies accordingly. All of Australia's languages are reviewed, including a review of the role of Japanese language studies in Australian education and Japanese studies. Cultures, general knowledge, and intercultural language teaching are also discussed. (Contains 18 references.) (KFT)

Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made
from the original document.

ED 459 602

AFTER THE TSUNAMI, SOME DILEMMAS

JAPANESE LANGUAGE STUDIES IN MULTICULTURAL AUSTRALIA

International Symposium on Japanese Language Studies
and Japanese Language Education

Nagoya University of Foreign Studies
June 1999

by

Joseph Lo Bianco

Chief Executive
Language Australia:
The National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia,
c/- The Australian National University Canberra, ACT 0200

Visiting Professor of Education
University of Melbourne

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

J. L. Bianco

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

1

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

2

LANGUAGE AUSTRALIA

FL026985

After the Tsunami, Some Dilemmas:
Japanese Language Studies in Multicultural Australia

ISBN 1 876768 19 3

Language Australia, the National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia Ltd. 2000.

Acknowledgement
I wish to gratefully acknowledge the research assistance of
Ms Chantal Crozet in the preparation for this paper.

© 2000. Language Australia, the National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia Ltd. Copyright in this document is owned by Language Australia Ltd. No parts may be reproduced by any process except with the written permission of Language Australia or in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright Act.

All enquiries in relation to this publication should be addressed to:
Publications and Clearinghouse Manager
Language Australia
GPO Box 372F
Melbourne VIC 3001

The views expressed in this publication are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of Language Australia Ltd.

CONTENTS

1	INTRODUCTION	5
2	THREE APPROACHES TO MULTILINGUALISM	5
3	PHASES OF LANGUAGE POLICY DEVELOPMENT IN AUSTRALIA	6
4	AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGES	8
5	JAPANESE IN AUSTRALIAN EDUCATION	12
6	JAPANESE STUDIES	19
7	CULTURES, GENERAL KNOWLEDGE AND INTERCULTURAL LANGUAGE TEACHING	25
	REFERENCES	29

1 INTRODUCTION

Australia's multicultural and multilingual demography, combined with its Asian geography, shape and influence language and cultural learning in deep and pervasive ways.

This paper describes the responses to linguistic pluralism in Australia, policy in relation to Australia's Asian language context and the teaching and learning of Japanese within these two frameworks. Finally the paper considers some ideas relating intercultural language learning as common to all second language study termed: the Third Place.

2 THREE APPROACHES TO MULTILINGUALISM

There are three approaches typically taken towards multilingualism in a given society. After Ruiz (1984) these are called Language (or Multilingualism) as *Problem*, as *Right* and as *Resource*.

The first of these was common in Australia during the mid to late 1970s. This approach shaped many policies at the time and was based on regarding *multilingualism as a problem*. Public policies in all fields reflected this thinking of multiple languages as a problem: a problem for the delivery of social services, for education, for the public service. The public reports that were written during this period of time typically speak about multilingualism in this way, as a problem.

Viewing multilingualism as a problem, either directly or implicitly, leads to the position of wanting to *eradicate* the problem. A great deal of teaching in Australian schools reflected this orientation.

A great deal of public education sought the replacement of minority languages with English, not the complementary development of both. In subtle (and sometimes not subtle but blunt and harsh ways) the *language as a problem* approach constituted a strong force for assimilation by effectively eradicating language differences.

In response to the language as a problem ideology emerged the second approach.

This principally came from the ethnic rights movement of the 1970s and contested the *'multilingualism as a problem'* thinking. It argued that language and multilingualism are in fact not a problem at all, but a *right*. The *language as a right* argument held that the maintenance and retention of minority languages is a right and that this accrued to individuals and to groups within

the community, both because of inherent rights, but also because as new citizens it is earned through the work and contributions (including the taxes) of all citizens, including minorities.

The reports that were written between the late 1970s and the early to mid 1980s, often reflect this new ideology of *language as a right.*

The third approach is the idea of *language as a resource.* Regarding *multilingualism as a resource,* involves construing the diversity of languages within the community as a public as well as an individual benefit and fashioning public policies accordingly.

3 PHASES OF LANGUAGE POLICY DEVELOPMENT IN AUSTRALIA

Since the late 1960s there have been the following main trends in public appreciation debate and consideration of languages and cultures.

Anglo-conformity culture and assimilationist politics

Policies that sought an eventual cultural homogenisation for immigrants, and for indigenous Australians, were the pattern until the mid 1970s. Although this goal was rarely expressed it is discernable as the underlying and deep seated objective of policies as diverse as education, health, policing and law.

Australianist reaction and the beginnings of pluralism: phase one.

The early 1970s saw the beginnings of a two-part reaction to assimilationist ideology. The first part was to replace British identification with Australian ones (partly a reaction to Britain's accession to the (then) European Economic Community, and partly the beginnings of appreciation of diversity as constituting a new national identity potential for Australia). Policies written around this time, as well as reports of public enquiries into immigrant and Aboriginal children's education reveal two basic ideologies and orientations to diversity of language and culture. The first continues the 'problem' mode but instead of seeking to replace the first language it seeks to offer specialised language (English as a second language) and culture retention programs. The second is to move from regarding diversity as problem to advocating the retention of minority language and culture as a 'right'. Reports of this time

6

started to reflect this idea that in a new kind of Australia, one in which national identity itself was being negotiated, minorities had a right, as citizens, to seek to be reflected in the institutions of the nation. Language and cultural retention, while learning and adopting English as the common national language, were seen to be a right that benefited the individual and the community.

Pluralism phase two

Gradually the advocacy of rights to the maintenance of minority cultures and languages petered out. The principal reason for this was the realisation that the actual retention of minority languages and cultures rests in significant part with individual communities, and public institutions cannot practically directly intervene to support all differences of language and culture. A new manner of thinking emerged. This regarded language and cultural retention as a 'resource' rather than a right. A right involves sanction against some authority for non-compliance. A resource involves thinking about the benefits (intellectual, cultural, economic and social) of assisting young people to retain and develop a mastery of the language of their families, and the cultural knowledge that they are developing in their communities.

Economically motivated Asian regionalism

However an altogether new force was developing in the late 1970s. To a large degree this had to do with the loss of Australia's export markets to Britain, and the need for the nation to secure new markets for its produce and raw materials. Inevitably these were in the geographically closer Asia-Pacific zone. This economic imperative combined with geo-political and strategic interests in elevating interest in bilateral and multilateral relationships with Asian countries. From the early 1980s onward, but very strongly during the early 1990s, public policy, discourse and many reports of enquiries advocated strongly the teaching of a selected number of key Asian languages. These were advocated not principally as skills that Asian Australians could contribute to the body politic of Australia, but rather as new learning that English speaking Australians would undertake.

National Policy

From 1987 when Australia adopted the *National Policy on Languages* until 1994 when the *National Asian Languages and Studies Strategy* was adopted was a period of intense policy development.

Ambivalence, contest and anxiety

In the late 1990s we have newly returned to a pattern of the past. The concern again prominently expressed in policy is for English, this time in the form of English literacy standards. One possible effect of this strong and insistent advocacy of the priority of English is to make vulnerable many of the extensive achievements that Australian education has made for multicultural and multilingual education.

In summary then, the phases of, and pressures impacting on, Australian language policy making have been:

- Until the early 1970s: Assimilation to English and British-Australian Culture;
- 1970s to 1980s and still encountered today: A process and demand for Aboriginal Reconciliation, Multiculturalism and for a unique and independent Australian national identity;
- From the mid 1980s and still encountered today: An economically motivated pressure for Asian regionalism;
- During the late 1990s: Ambivalence, contest and anxiety about diversity as a basis for public policy.

4 AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGES

For most of Australia's long history of human occupation some 250 languages (representing some 600 dialects) co-existed. Some linguists have calculated that a split in the development of a language leads to a doubling of the number every thousand years. If this is true (and assuming human occupation of 40 000 years) it means that from the original Australian language (proto-Australian) it would have taken about 8 000 years for approximately 250 languages to emerge and then for the remaining 32 000 years no languages were added and none lost. This would show astonishing stability; and all with no written literacy.

However, in the 200 years since British settlement at the end of the 18th century, most of Australia's indigenous languages have become extinct.

Without a sustaining cultural context (an ecology) to scaffold the use of a language it will die as its speakers transfer, gradually, to another language.

Today, only about 20 Australian indigenous languages are still passed on to children as the primary language of a community. About 50 000 Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders speak a traditional language, only about 10% of all Aboriginal people.

It has been estimated that some 50-60 languages are known only by old people and are not used across the generations. Communication across the generations often involves code switching, i.e. both speakers shifting between the two (or more languages). This means then that some 170 to 180 languages are no longer used at all, and about some of these languages virtually nothing is known.

4.1 NON INDIGENOUS AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGES

In addition to indigenous languages Australians speak some 180 other languages, languages of immigrant origin, from all parts of the world. These are often referred to as *community* (or heritage) languages, to distinguish them from 'foreign' languages that students only encounter outside of the Australian context.

Although community languages are spoken everywhere Australia's large cities are especially multilingual. Although there had been minority communities since the First Fleet (with vibrant German, Chinese, Greek, Italian, French and Irish speaking settlements throughout last century) Australia's post-war immigration program radically transformed the population mix. The post-war migration program started in 1947 with displaced persons from Eastern Europe and has moved geographically, to the North of Europe, the South, then the Middle East, Asia and Latin America and more recently with arrivals from Africa. Australia's large cities have changed radically as a result.

In recent years Asian languages have grown in prominence and in Sydney and Melbourne Korean, Tamil, Sinhala, Thai, Indonesian, Chinese, Japanese and Vietnamese are vibrant additions to the Greek, Italian, Spanish, German, Dutch, Maltese, Turkish and Arabic of earlier immigration flows.

Australian community languages are maintained intergenerationally quite effectively compared to other immigration receiving nations. 'Ethnic' schools, clubs, radio, TV and newspapers, not to mention the possibilities of travel and immersion have helped. However, there is still language shift over the

generations (Vietnamese, Greek, Chinese and Italian have a better rate of retention by the second and third generation than German, Dutch, Maltese and other languages).

4.2 LANGUAGE ECOLOGY

Languages exist in a social space and in relation to other languages, to specific social contexts and to particular meanings. An analogy with the natural environment is appropriate. The world needs biological diversity to retain a vital and healthy natural environment. Language ecologies are the environments that give different languages purpose. They do this because they retain a unique capacity to carry messages and deep meanings. These deep meanings and particular cultural 'feelings' are valued by the people who speak them. In this way forms of communication are closely tied to identity. In addition different languages code the unique experiences of the group and the environment that produced the language.

If we think about languages like this we can see that multilingualism is important for human psychological, intellectual and cultural health in a similar way to biological (or species) diversity is in the natural world.

Right across Australia there is an active effort by many indigenous communities to revive, revitalise and maintain Australian languages. Ethnic minorities of immigrant origin have also worked hard to pass on languages other than English to younger generations. In addition many Australians of English speaking background have embraced bilingualism studying Asian and European languages with enthusiasm.

From the above we can discern three broad categories of languages other than English in Australia: the indigenous or *Australian* languages group, the immigrant or *community* languages group and the *foreign* languages group.

4.3 JAPANESE AS AN AUSTRALIAN COMMUNITY LANGUAGE

According to the 1996 Australian census the number of Japanese speakers in Australia is 25,634. 38.2% of these Australian Japanese reside in Sydney, while 16.5% reside in what the Australian Bureau of Statistics calls 'other Queensland' (i.e. outside Brisbane) and 15.3% reside in Melbourne. The residential pattern reflects the occupational pattern of Japanese migration to Australia, mainly business residents and individuals involved in the tourism industry.

10

As with all community languages it is possible to track the extent of shift in use of the language across the generations. Language shift among Japanese speakers is interesting to note, and to compare with the group that the Australian Bureau of Statistics usually considers together, Korean immigrants to Australia.

4.4 LANGUAGE SHIFT AMONG JAPANESE AND KOREAN BORN AUSTRALIANS

Language shift is the term that describes the degree of intergenerational change in language use. The following table, drawn from the 1996 General Census of the Australian population compares the Language Shift between Japan and Korea born Australians, in the first generation and in the second generation. In the second generation the figures are broken down by whether the family is endogamous (i.e. whether the partners of the same birthplace) or exogamous (of different birthplaces).

Birthplace	Percentage 1st Generation	Percentage 2nd Generation	
		Endog./	Exog./
Japan	15.4	5.4	68.9
Korea (Rep.)	11.6	5.4	61.5

Korean speakers shift to English less than Japanese speakers in both the first and second generations. In the second generation children of endogamous marriages (i.e. marriages inside the ethnic or national group) have the same very low shift from Japanese and/or Korean to English in exogamous marriages (those outside the ethnic or national group) the rate of shift to English for Koreans is lower than for Japanese. The number of endogamous marriages is considerably higher for Koreans than among Japanese.

As far as age profiles are concerned these are similar for speakers of Japanese and Korean in 1996. The following table shows that the age profile reveals two rather young communities with a similar age distribution.

Age range	Japanese #	Japanese %	Korean #	Korean %
0-4	1601	6.2	1724	5.8
5- 14	3548	13.8	3875	12.9
15-24	5907	23	7011	23.4
25-35	6459	25.2	6427	21.5
35-44	4159	16.2	4827	16.1
45-54	2420	9.5	3088	10,3
55-64	802	3.1	1869	6.2
65+	738	2.9	1109	3.7

These figures provide a brief profile as to the Japanese who reside in Australia and the extent to which Japanese qualifies as an Australian community language. However, Japanese in Australia is much more strongly represented and perceived as a language of education and study than as a community language.

5 JAPANESE IN AUSTRALIAN EDUCATION

The main feature of Japanese in Australia is however as a studied and learned language. Among the most dramatic language policy developments in recent decades in Australia has been the vast status change that Japanese has enjoyed. From being a minor addition among foreign language studies Japanese has become the most popular language of study in formal education. (If we aggregate formal and non-formal education Italian is the most popular language of study in Australia).

During the 1960s and 1970s Australia saw the establishment of around half the Japanese programs that currently exist in Australian universities. However, the all time peak in student numbers was in the late 1980s, this is often referred to as the Tsunami. Japanese replaced French as the most popular foreign language at all levels of education. It is of course connected with and coincides with the booming of the Japanese economy and the flourishing of trade relations between Australia and Japan.

By 1991 there were Japanese programs in 29 Australian Universities, (now in all 34 Universities) more than for any other language, with more student enrolments in aggregate. Between 1990-1994 there was a slower increase of

student enrolments but this still represented a 143% growth. In 1997 (according to a survey conducted by the Japan Foundation) Australia stands with the 2nd highest number of students after Korea (from primary to tertiary level) learning Japanese in the world having recently replaced China in second place.

Since the early 1990s some changes have occurred in Japanese language pedagogy. Now Japanese teachers use teaching approaches which are based more on interactive and communicative activities (Marriott et al. 1994:51-2) and multimedia technology is used increasingly (Stockwin 1997:3). This did not used to be common.

Another recent development has been that the expansion of Japanese programs at tertiary level has coincided with considerable and very important changes to the staffing profile. Japanese staff in the past tended to have only Japanese language skills without post-graduate qualifications.

Now many are upgrading their qualifications. For example, in 1992 38% of Japanese staff had Masters degrees and 10% held PhD's. By 1996, 66% held a Masters degree and 13% had PhD's (Japan Foundation 1997: 299-386). All this constitutes of rapid and deep professionalisation of Japanese language and culture studies in the Australian academy. One of its likely effects will be to generate Australian-specific and Australian-relevant research on the teaching and acquisition of Japanese.

One of the effects of explicit language policies has been to devote public resources towards research in language education methods and applied linguistics. The increased level of qualifications of Japanese staff accompanies the upgrading of the qualifications of staff in other language departments throughout the country (Liddicoat et al 1997). The targeting of research topics towards fields of local need and interest is also evident as an effect of policy within applied linguistics studies (Lo Bianco, et al 1997).

It flows as a consequence of the research interests of these more highly qualified Japanese language over the last 5 years that research directions in Japanese departments now feature an increase in applied linguistics topics (Lo Bianco et al 1997). As the federal government demands ever greater compliance with accountability requirements for the expenditure of federal grants to universities such research will increasingly be drawn on to demonstrate concrete proficiency outcomes and more general accountability in terms of quality teaching assurance (Lo Bianco et al 1997), which in turn will prompt further research to improve and extend Japanese teaching.

Examples of current areas of research interest in Japanese applied linguistics are as follows:

- Aspects of acquisition processes for Japanese as a foreign language;
- The integration of culture into Japanese language programs;
- The gendered use of Japanese;
- The use of various media as teaching tools;
- The teaching of communication strategies;
- The interactive environment and its effects on Japanese native speaker;
- Teachers of Japanese returning to their homeland;
- Teaching and learning Kanji;
- Japanese pragmatics;
- Teaching and writing skills and communicative styles (Japan Foundation 1997).

40% of enrolments in Japanese at the larger Australian universities come from students from non-English speaking backgrounds (Stockwin 1997:3). Many of these are Asian students, Asian Australian students, who are not of Japanese language background themselves. There are also increasing numbers of migrant bilinguals enrolled in Japanese language acquisition. This is an important development as it contains a strong language education, or pedagogical implication. How we teach Japanese as a foreign language to mixed language background groups comprising mother tongue speakers of Chinese, Italian, Vietnamese and Greek is a question of considerable research interest. Given that the kinds of knowledge that learners possess and bring to the learning task frames and influences both the processes of their acquisition of Japanese and their attitudes towards the subject matter they are presented with is a factor whose impact is still not well understood.

In other developments in Japanese teaching in Australia we can note that the 1990s have witnessed a significant growth of in-country study (Marriott 1996).

The status of Japanese in Australian education, like the phases of language policy in Australia, has seen some major transformations. The following table sets out a tentative map of the major developments.

Status of Japanese in Australian Education: Towards a Framework

Exotic, foreign and rare: From Australian Federation (1901) to mid 1930s

- Australian culture directed towards British empire loyalty.
- Australian enacts immigration restrictions.
- Several Australian states ban (and close down existing) bilingual education schools.
- In general languages other than English are discouraged.
- An Orientalist orientation is typical in Asian language and culture studies.
- In 1917 Japanese is introduced into the University of Sydney.

Japanese assumes strategic, geo-political interest: Mid 1930s to Post World War II

- Japanese introduced into Melbourne Saturday School of Modern Languages.
- Australian language policy mirrors British foreign language education (Latin and French).
- Japanese still a rare and exotic foreign language.
- A small group of elite emerging Australian Asianists developing skill in Japanese.

Beginnings of Regional consciousness for Australia: Mid 1960s to Mid 1970s

- Six more Universities introduce Japanese language studies.
- Japanese becomes a subject for secondary school examination and taught at secondary level.
- Postgraduate studies in Japanese introduced.
- Beginnings of ethnic and Aboriginal rights movement and community languages ideology.
- Mid-1970s Britain joins Europe; Australia more energetically seeks Asian markets.
- General community interest in and demand for bilingualism emerges.
- Auchmuty report on Asian languages released: called for 'parity of esteem' between Asian and European languages.

15

Multicultural and Asia-literacy policies: Mid-1970s to Late 1980s

- Australian trade with Japan booms.
- Japanese tourism to Australia accelerates.
- Japanese-English bilingualism becomes an employment selection criterion.
- *Asian Studies Council* established.
- *National Policy on Languages* adopted 1987.
- *Ingleson Report* on Asian languages in Higher Education released.
- 'Asia-literacy' becomes Federal government policy.

Tsunami

- Vast and rapid enrolment increases in Japanese language study: all levels, all States.
- Japanese becomes language of mass education.
- Japanese taught at every University.
- *NALSAS* report adopted 1994 makes Japanese; Korean, Indonesian and Chinese priority languages.
- Japanese emerging as a community language as well.

5.1 JAPANESE IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS

It is clear from the figures in the following table that there has been a phenomenal expansion in Japanese teaching in Australian schools. These figures are for the states of Queensland, Tasmania, and Victoria only however they represent a common national picture (DETYA 1999). The growth has been one of almost doubling of enrolments every two years. This has placed strain on teacher education as well as one curriculum design and program planning. Nevertheless there has been a largely successful incorporation of Japanese within Australian primary schools that at the primary level shows few signs of abating. The recent review of NALSAS commissioned by the Federal Department of Education (DETYA 1999) indicates enrolment results.

1991	1994	1996/97
25 110	59 563	108 848

In 1996/7 the total enrolment numbers for Asian priority languages were: 202,376 and of these Indonesian 73,142, Chinese 19,970 and Korean 416.

In 1996/7 the total enrolment numbers for all languages (including Asian languages other than the above four) were: 234,493, and of these 150,520 were for Italian, 44,094 for German and 28,107 for French.

The expansion of the study of second languages in Australian primary schools has been one of the great success stories of the period of intensive language planning in Australia since the adoption of Australia's first *National Policy on Languages* (Lo Bianco 1987).

NALSAS aims to ensure that the major part of formal language study in Australia is focused on the four identified Asian languages. What has been the effect of its implementation since 1994?

In summary, since the adoption and funding of the NALSAS overall enrolment changes have been:

- Japanese enrolments have increased by more than four times;
- Indonesian enrolments have more than doubled;
- Korean enrolments have increased from 228 to 416;
- Chinese has also increased though at a less significant rate; 14,066 to 19,970.

Meanwhile among the 'Priority Languages' there has also been major change:

- Italian enrolments have more than tripled;
- German enrolments have increased from 37,291 to 44,094;
- Modern Greek has seen a large decrease from 4,501 to 2,662.

There have also been changes among languages of recent immigration ie:

- Vietnamese has seen an increase from 1,127 enrolments to 2,733;
- Spanish has seen an increase from 1,790 enrolments to 4,750. (DETYA 1999)

5.2 ENROLMENTS IN LANGUAGES IN THE POST-COMPULSORY SCHOOL YEARS SINCE 1994

The main effects of the NALSAS strategy on final year enrolments in school have been ambivalent. Although overall enrolments are higher this is mainly in Primary Schools while growth in post compulsory years is problematic.

There has been a modest increase in Year 12 enrolments though this is in part due in part to the falling numbers of Year 12 students overall.

At the final year of schooling Japanese enrolments have exhibited a steady and strong increase, though with one significant decline.

1990:	2,541
1991:	3,115
1992:	3,809
1993:	4,320
1994:	5,451
1995:	5,032
1995:	5,381

These enrolments are from the total of 9,859 final year enrolments in the four priority Asian languages. The others are Chinese 2,361, Indonesian 1,869 and Korean 248.

In 1996 the non-Asian priority languages and non-priority Asian languages (i.e. all languages other than the four NALSAS languages) the final year total figures are: 24,670 of which 4,201 were in French, 2,674 in German, 2,100 in Italian, 1,356 in Greek and 1,038 in Vietnamese. The proportion of NALSAS Asian languages to the total is 6.43%, the proportion non-NALSAS is 8.02 and the total proportion of language compared to non-language taking candidates is 14.45% (DETYA 1999).

NALSAS appears to be based on a bottom-up strategy (i.e. that generating interest among young learners will lead to increased demand for languages as these learners progress to the higher levels of education). From the above figures we must conclude that there is no evidence as yet that the NALSAS bottom-up approach has provided the great surge in language enrolments in post-compulsory years that was desired.

The Commonwealth review of NALSAS also concluded:

- *NALSAS targets are widely seen as unrealistic*

One of the main targets of the NALSAS strategy is a numerical one. This states that by 2006 a total of 15% of Year 12 students will be studying an Asian language (compared with 10% studying non-Asian languages) and that 60% of year 10 students are to study one of the four NALSAS languages. The DETYA review of the NALSAS report shows that many people regard the goals as unrealistic. Other conclusions of the review are that:

- *Studies of Asia have increased in schools;*
- *All languages are seen to need continuing Federal government support and funding;*
- *That there is a great need to give priority to the development of a national proficiency measurement instrument and implementation.*

6 JAPANESE STUDIES

In a recent review of the work of the *Japanese Studies Association* of Australia Low (1997) notes the growing maturity of the JSAA in the 1990s. He points out that it has recently seen a greater focus on Japanese politics where traditionally papers centred only on history and society, language, literature and culture.

He notes that the Conference theme in 1991: 'Japan and the World' attracted a substantial number of papers on politics and economics that were under represented in the past. Distinguished panels of participants from Japan were present too. The themes of the 8th Biennial Conference 1993: 'Japan and the New World Order'. And the 9th Biennial Conference 1995: 'Frontiers of Japanese Studies' also reflect the growing confidence and maturity of Japanese studies within the Australian academy.

6.1 CURRENT ISSUES RE: JAPANESE STUDIES

According to Low (1997) in 1971 a third year university student of Japanese, Mr Alan Rix, raised some issues about Australians studying Japan at a Conference entitled 'Japan and Australia in the Seventies'. It is interesting to reflect on these observations and issues 28 years later, in the context of the present strong demand for and popularity of Japanese language and culture studies among Australians.

Mr Rix made the following observations whose present status is commented on below.

- *There is a need for mass rather than elite training in Japanese studies*

The problem identified here has considerably diminished since 1971. Japanese studies as a component of Asian studies are now widespread in Australian education.

- *There is a considerable gender imbalance among students of Japanese*

This problem too has considerably diminished but not disappeared in the intervening 28 years.

- *The study of Japanese (and other languages) should be as valued as social studies are*

I think that we can conclude that Australia has energetically pursued language policies in the intervening period that are well recognised worldwide.

By 1986 the same Alan Rix was a distinguished Professor of Japanese Studies at the University of Queensland and on that occasion he raised the following issues as relevant to the place of the study of Japan in Australia:

- *Low funding of Japanese Studies within Australian Universities;*
- *Lack of contact with European and American colleagues;*
- *The need to keep abreast of developments in computer-aided learning;*
- *The need to pursue a wide range of research directions.*

How much progress has been made on the above issues since 1986?

In the 13 years since these observations we can certainly conclude that Japanese is well supported at all levels of Australian education. The famous *Tsunami* of enrolments in late eighties brought more funds and more responsibilities. Australian scholars engaged in Japanese scholarship are much better connected with international scholarship. It has been observed that there is a stronger presence of Australian scholars in international conferences. Although computer-aided instruction tends to be limited to universities that have the funds and expertise there have been some outstanding initiatives in this regard and several school systems are active in broadcasting Japanese. We can also observe that there is now a very diverse range of types of provision of Japanese language programs in Australia to better meet the diverse needs of learners (however this is not always conducive to creating software to suit different needs).

According to Low, Bramley and Hanamura and others there is a systematic sharing or the potential for this, as far as books and other resources on Japan

are concerned. There has been a proposal for the establishment of a *National Asian Information Centre* that would combine the extensive Asian collections of the National Library and the Australian National University Library in one building on the ANU campus. Large database services have been introduced and the Australian-Japan Research Centre has helped in making the Nikkei Database more available to Australian Universities, corporations and the public sector. Australian companies that trade with Japan are now more interested in employing graduates with good Japanese language skills as a supplement to other required skills.

However, despite progress on many of these matters other issues have emerged. One is the *brain drain* of Australian born Japanese scholars to overseas countries (mainly to the US and Britain). At past times similar brain drains were offset by the recruitment of Japan scholars from Japan and other countries but now relative declines in Australian academic salaries make it more difficult to attract such scholars to replenish the Japan expertise of the Australian academy, especially of scholars from the USA (Japan Foundation 1997: 48).

On the positive side this 'problem' provides more opportunities for Australian-born or Australian trained scholars and contributes to what is now called the 'Australianisation' of Chairs of Japanese in Australian universities (Japan Foundation 1997, Low 1997).

6.2 CURRENT RESEARCH THEMES AND PROGRAMS

New research in applied Japanese linguistics tends to attract far more Japanese students than Australian students. There is a wide difference of opinion on the future priorities and directions for Japanese studies, on what approaches should be preferred, and whose assistance should be accepted.

The following examples of current or recently completed research programs and topics in five major Universities illustrate the much diversified nature of Australian based research on Japanese studies and Japanese language.

La Trobe University

- Women, sexuality and enlightenment in medieval Japan;
- Gender equity and school-based job referral practice in Japan;
- Entry of third-generation Korean youth into the Japanese workforce;
- Analysis of Japanese television discourse;

- Alternative models for understanding Japanese society;
- Shakespeare in Japan;
- The political of the 'senior statesmen' in the 1930s;
- Imperial Army 'stragglers' and the public memory of the Second World War.

The University of Adelaide

- The political economy of modern Japan;
- Japan's foreign relations;
- Historical and contemporary social and cultural development in Japan;
- Studies of Japanese literature and intellectual thought;
- Applied and theoretical linguistics.

The Australian National University

- Japanese Applied Linguistics;
- Japanese Literature;
- History of Japanese science and technology;
- Japan and Asia and questions of national identity and citizenship;
- International trade;
- Political and international relations;
- Economics.

University of New South Wales

- Sociolinguistics;
- Psycholinguistics;
- Computational linguistics;
- Semiotics;
- Discourse analysis;
- Interlanguage;
- Educational philosophy;
- Curriculum and instruction;
- Learner motivation and learner autonomy.

University of Queensland

- Australia-Japan relations;
- Japanese political economy;
- Japanese linguistics;
- Sociolinguistics;
- Translation and interpreting;

- Japanese literature and World War II internment of Japanese in Australia;
- Use of satellite Japanese TV programs for language teaching in the tertiary classroom.

6.3 THE STUDY OF CULTURE IN JAPANESE

In a recent paper examining the treatment of culture in Japanese Foreign Language (JFL) instruction in 13 tertiary institutions in Australia Nagata (1998) makes some important observations about culture in language.

In common trend with all programs of foreign language teaching the study of culture in the study of JFL is often treated as adjunct knowledge to language. So far there has been very little and only sporadic **integration** of language and culture studies.

According to Nagata (1998) developments in Japanese language pedagogy have been very dynamic but the "treatment of culture in instructional materials" is still relatively unquestioned and unresearched.

Nagata makes the point that in Japan the teaching of Japanese culture (in JFL programs) has involved the introduction of cultural icons and (often stereotypical) presentation of the Japanese people. This is often based on the *Nihonjijoo* approach i.e. the introduction to Japanese culture and society above basic level to international students enrolled in university programs an approach that was established by Ministerial order in 1962. Nagata points out that no guidelines for curriculum development were provided and observes that this has led to different interpretations of it among JFL practitioners. According to Hasegawa (1995:53) (cited in Nagata 1998) a JFL pioneer, the term *Nihonjijoo* was first used in 1936 in a JFL book for teaching Japanese in colonial settings. According to Hasegawa *Nihonjijoo* has historically strong links with imperialist policies tending to give an ethnocentric and stereotypical view of Japanese culture even in its more modern interpretations.

The *Nihonjijoo* still influences the content of some JFL textbooks produced in Japan. 'Culture' topics in the *Nihonjijoo* approach are typically about general topics in culture such as history, geography, sports, arts and crafts, folk tales, literature, economics etc. In this respect *Nihonjijoo* is the Japanese version of the 'Cultural studies' and 'Customs and everyday life' approaches to teaching culture in foreign language education in the European countries. Japanese researchers in JFL see *Nihonjijoo* addressing the overlap between everyday culture and selected disciplines.

According to Nagata (1998) other cultural content (non-Nihonjijoo) in JFL

books tends to give a neutral, but overly simplified set of generalisations about Japanese culture/society.

6.4 JAPANESE CULTURE IN JFL

The typical features of how Japanese culture is presented in Japanese Foreign Language Teaching follow a familiar pedagogical and organisational pattern. This pattern is reasonably common to the teaching of any foreign language.

Japanese culture in Australian universities is usually taught in English in Japanese Studies (JS) programs. Some elements of the *Nihonjijoo* approach are found when attempts are made to introduce as much basic information as possible about culture and society within constrained curricula and timetables (Nagata 1998). However, Nagata finds that in Japanese Studies (JS) programs culture representations tend to be more issues driven and critically oriented. Some topics that are commonly addressed in **advanced** JS studies are: questions of gender in Japanese society, the relationship between education, employment and society, the aging society of Japan, the patterns of employment and the relationships of workers and employers in the Japanese labour market; the relationships between young people and traditional cultural patterns.

As is often the case when language is divorced from context and culture cultural items and practices are transmitted as **information**. Students *'tend to be treated to a kind of 'cultural nibbling 'where they sample much but explore little'* (Nagata (1998: 99).

One recurring problem of this approach is the inadequacy and perceived irrelevance of the content of Japanese textbooks for Australian students. As an example of this Nagata (1998: 100) cites the case of a 19 year-old student in Adelaide: *' Labour unions...we don't even know about them in Australia. We try and discuss it and don't even know about the situation'.*

From the above we can conclude that a major dilemma for Japanese in Australia, or, more positively, a challenge for the future, is to find a pedagogically valid way of integrating JFL and JS studies.

7 CULTURES, GENERAL KNOWLEDGE AND INTERCULTURAL LANGUAGE TEACHING.

Nagata's observations and conclusions about Japanese culture teaching in Japanese language programs are useful to consider in the wider context of the teaching of culture in language education. Crozet, Liddicoat and Lo Bianco (1999) identify four paradigms in language teaching history that are representative of various approaches to teaching culture:

- **The Traditional approach**

This is a view of culture that focuses on *high culture*, i.e. culture understood as art and literature principally. In addition there tended to be an emphasis on culture as it is mediated through written language. Within this paradigm cultural competence, in foreign language education, is viewed as control of an established canon of literature, which can be measured in terms of the breadth of reading and knowledge about the literature. The model for the language learner in this paradigm is the educated native speaker, who is presumed to control an identical canon of literature.

- **The 'Culture Studies' approach**

Culture in such an approach is embedded in knowledge about the history, geography and institutions of the target language country. It becomes an issue of setting rather than text, of polities rather than people. Cultural competence in this case comes to be viewed as a body of knowledge about the country, which is part of the knowledge that native speakers can be expected to have. It is less focussed on an educated elite than the literary studies paradigm, but is still related to educated knowledge.

- **The 'Culture as Practices' approach**

This approach seeks to describe cultures in terms of the practices and values that typify them. It sees culture as a collective way of acting through language. This view of cultural competence leaves the learner primarily within his/her own cultural paradigm, observing and interpreting the words and actions of an interlocutor from another cultural paradigm.

25

- **Intercultural language teaching**

Intercultural Language Teaching tends to treat the teaching and learning of culture in foreign language programs as a 'third place' encounter between the target language culture's practices, values and achievements and those the learner brings to the task of learning. This hybrid is aimed at a pedagogical principle and contains three fundamental aspects. These are:

- The teaching of a *linguaculture* (i.e. a language infused with a sense of its cultural and communicative context);
- The comparison between learners' first, language/culture and target language/culture; and
- Intercultural exploration.

Techniques of teaching, no matter how researched, well described and polished cannot make communication effective, cannot make connotative and cultural meanings natural and ultimately cannot make contact in the space where both the learner and the 'native' create a hybrid point of interaction.

Language competences are as a nested set of circles, with various language or culture specific kinds of interaction competence being the most central. Our principal aim in any language-learning endeavour is human interaction. Even if our purpose is to study Pali to read Buddhist scriptures, rather than to communicate with any living Pali speaker, interaction is central to the task. In this case the interaction is with 'ideas', given as life-messages, preserved and catalogued as a philosophy of life lived by millions of people.

The kind of interaction that this affords is an insight into what Jayasuriya (1990 [after Williams (1977:63)] argues is not a fixed autonomous cultural entity but is best understood as 'an interrelated configuration of **archaic,** *residual* and *emergent cultures*'. This definition can be useful to language teachers as it can help trace the origins of cultural behaviours in individual interactions.

- The **archaic culture** carries the past-historical patterns that have at least a symbolic value and sometimes a communicative value in their recirculation as what is sometimes called common sense, ie the interpretive philosophy of everyday life available to us in what we receive from past interpretations of the same phenomena.
- The **residual culture** refers to the lived and current patterns of behaviour.
- The **emergent culture** identifies the possibility of change, contest and negotiation of culture, and in language takes the form of new words,

26

expressions, or of the ways in which ideological shapings of language seek to become the 'natural' form, ie to become residual.

In this respect Byram's definition of an interculturally competent person is helpful:

> *An intercultural speaker is someone who can operate their linguistic competence and their sociolinguistic awareness of the relationship between language and the context in which it is used, in order to manage interaction across cultural boundaries, to anticipate misunderstandings caused by difference in values, meanings and beliefs, and thirdly, to cope with the affective as well as cognitive demands of engagement with otherness."* (Byram 1995)

Just because language is inextricably infused with culture in its deepest and widest forms does not however result in guaranteed, inevitable, or automatic intercultural competence, empathy, capability or interest through teaching the language. Intercultural awareness requires explicit, systematic and deliberate attention in programs of foreign language study.

The problems with cultural content and representation in Japanese textbooks therefore are **not** unique to Japanese. Indeed these are a universal difficulty with the cultural content in virtually all-foreign language education.

The last decade has seen an increase in Japanese discourse analysis research that can provide the links between Japanese language and culture. The Japanese language teaching profession however has at its disposal the means to develop a rich curriculum and pedagogy to apply the outcomes of such research. This will be a challenge for the future. Discourse study will yield evidence of the pragmatic communicative requirements for being an effective and proficient user of Japanese that will assist in devising curricula for effective Intercultural Language Teaching.

There is a growing questioning of what culture really is and how culture should be taught in Japanese language education. This questioning is a productive and important phase in the development of Intercultural Language Teaching for Australian learners of Japanese. One of the features this will need to consider is who the learners are.

The teaching and learning of Japanese in Australia will to need understand rather better than it has in the past the context of Australian multiculturalism. Australian learners of Japanese will rarely have an identity connection with Japan and Japanese ways of being that their counterparts who study Chinese,

Italian or Greek in Australian schools may have. That is, "Japanese" will be construed, for these learners, in relation to Australian culture and its economic and cultural relationship to the economic and cultural contents of *Japan-for-Australians.* Since the mediation of this Japan for Australians is by textbook writers, textbooks are of vital importance.

Australian learners of Japanese have English and possibly an Australian community language as their mother tongue, their language and culture of socialisation. They will have formed and inherited views and constructions about Japan and Japanese life and values and they live in a society in which cultural difference and pluralism are a daily experience. The thinking about language learning which conceptualises the experience as a third *place* is therefore of considerable importance.

In my view learning a **language is learning to participate in the cultural events** that the language community (the *linguaculture*) makes possible. The *third place* is a point of encounter between the learner and the target language and culture. The learner's language of origin and the cultural mores and experiences they value will interact with those of the target culture. The result cannot ever be wholly the original, nor wholly the target. In the *third place* we can develop a more productive and promising idea of the entire experience.

REFERENCES:

DETYA 1999, *Advancing Australia's Languages: Overview Report - Evaluation of the Commonwealth School Languages Program* (1998). Canberra: Department of Education Training and Youth Affairs.

Bramley, N.S., Hanamura, N. (1998) *The Teaching and Learning of Japanese in Australian Universities: an overview.* In Nicolette Bramley & Naoko Hanamura (ed) *Issues in the Teaching and Learning of Japanese.* ARAL Series S number 15, p1-10.

Byram, M. (1995). *Intercultual Competence and Mobility in Multnational contexts: A European View.* Clevedon, Multilingual Matters.

Crozet, C., Liddicoat, A.J., and Lo Bianco, J., 1999. From Language Policy to Language Education, in Lo Bianco, J., Liddicoat, A.J. and Crozet, C.

Hasegawa, T. et al. (195) Bunkakenyuu no shoruikei kara mita ' Nihonjijoo' *Gaikokujinryuugakusei no tameno 'Nihonjijoo' kyooiku no arikata nitsuite no kisoteki choosa kenkyuu* Report, 51-66.

Japan Foundation, the (1997) *Directory of Japanese Studies in Australia and New Zealand.* Tokyo, The Japan Foundation.

Jayasuriya, K. (1990). *The problematic of culture and identity in cross-cultural theorising.,* Department of Social Work and Social Administration. University of Western Australia, Nedlands, Fineline Perth.

Kipp, S & Clyne,M. (1998) *Our Own 'Asian Trade Languages'.* Australian Language Matters 6,2:3-4.

Liddicoat, A.J., C. Crozet, L.M. Jansen and G. Schmidt (1997). *The role of languages in academic education: An overview* ARAL 20,2:19-32.

Lo Bianco, J., 1987, *National Policy on Languages.* Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

Lo Bianco, J., Bryant, P and Baldauf, R., 1997, *Language and Literacy: Australia's Fundamental Resource.* Canberra: National Board of Employment, Education and Training, Australian Research Council.

Lo Bianco, J., Liddicoat, A.J., Crozet, C., 1999, (eds) *Striving for the Third Place. Intercultural Competence Through Language Education.* Melbourne: Language Australia.

Low, M. (1997) *The Japanese Studies Association of Australia: A Short Review. In the Directory of Japanese studies in Australia and New Zealand.* The Japan Foundation and Canberra: Australian-Japan Research Centre.

Marriott, H., Neustupny, J.V & Spence-Brown, R. (1994). *Unlocking Australia's Language Potential. Vol 7 Japanese.* Commonwealth of Australia and NLLIA, Canberra.

Marriott, Helen (1996) *Educational outcomes of overseas study in Japan,* Japanese Studies, 16,1:1-104.

Nagata, Y. (1998) The study of culture in Japanese: Towards a more meaningful engagement with Japanese Language studies. In Nicolette Bramley & Naoko Hanamura (ed) *Issues in the Teaching and Learning of Japanese.* ARAL Series S number 15, p 93-104.

Ruiz, R., 1984, *Orientations in language planning.* National Association for Bilingual Education Journal (Washington DC, USA), 8: 15-34.

Stockwin, J.A.A (1997) Overview: Japanese Studies in Australia and New Zealand. *Directory of Japanese Studies in Australia and New Zealand.* Tokyo, The Japan Foundation.

LANGUAGE AUSTRALIA fosters
an articulate, literate and multicultural nation.

LANGUAGE AUSTRALIA publishes and disseminates
a wide range of
language and literacy
resources.

Contact the Victorian Office at
GPO Box 372F, Melbourne VIC 3001

or visit our websites for further information

Language Australia Home Page:
http://sunsite.anu.edu.au/language-australia

Language Australia National Resource Centre:
http://langoz.anu.edu.au

Phone:
(03) 9926 4779

Fax:
(03) 9926 4780

LANGUAGE
AUSTRALIA